**HOW WE CAN STOP McCARTHYISM**

THE Nation

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# Blunder in Korea

*by a Washington "Observer"*

# Ike's Labor Walk-Out

*by Congressman Roy W. Wier*

Unesco's Travail *Alexander Werth*

Eyewitness: South Africa *Basil Davidson*

Papal Setback in Italy *J. Alvarez del Vayo*

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

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# Letters

## Readers' Response to Redlich-Frantz Article

[*Few articles published by* The Nation *in recent years have aroused such widespread interest as Does Silence Mean Guilt? published in our June 6 issue. Reprints are still available at prices ranging from ten cents per copy for small orders to $45 per thousand copies.*]

*Dear Sirs:* Congratulations on the most forthright, comprehensive, and comprehensible exposition on the Fifth Amendment I have yet had occasion to read.

LAWRENCE D. SHUBOW

*Boston, Mass.*

*Dear Sirs:* The article reaches far beyond the sterile legislative interpretation so common today and presents a viewpoint which is encouraging and warming for its humanity. . . . It impresses one with the fact that this beneficent possession of the American people must be struggled for today. . . .

DANIEL FINE

*Boston, Mass.*

*Dear Sirs:* As a member of the Board of Directors and of the Editorial Committee of the Iowa Civil Liberties Union, I am anxious that our members all read the article Does Silence Mean Guilt?, of which our acting secretary, Laurent B. Frantz, is co-author. We have noted your welcome announcement that reprints are available. . . .

EDWARD S. ALLEN

*Ames, Iowa*

*Dear Sirs:* You may be interested to know that at a meeting yesterday of Forum Board of Directors, it was unanimously voted to circulate this excellent and thoughtful statement to our entire board and to our chapter officers in various cities.

KATHERINE EARNSHAW,
Executive Director,
The Physicians Forum, Inc.

*New York*

*Dear Sirs:* Many of my friends have been bemoaning the damage done to the purpose of the Fifth Amendment by the supporters of McCarthy's methods. At the same time, there's been little material available with which to refute the slanders. Does Silence Mean Guilt? is particularly impressive in its analysis of the "honest" people who are opposed to endless Congressional investigations, but who still condemn witnesses who invoke the Fifth Amendment.

GERTRUDE ROBBINS

*New York*

*Dear Sirs:* As one who has been wrestling with this problem many months now, not in the abstract but concretely in relation to many teachers. . . . I can say that this article is the best analysis for the layman that has appeared anywhere.

ROSE RUSSELL,
Legislative Representative,
Teachers' Union

*New York*

*Dear Sirs:* Congratulations on the article Does Silence Mean Guilt? by Laurent B. Frantz and Norman Redlich published in your June 6 issue.

HOWARD EHRLICH

*Bloomington, Ind.*

*Dear Sirs:* I have read [the article] with much interest. I think it is most important that this should be widely read.

H. T. RAWLEY

*Hanover, N. H.*

*Dear Sirs:* May I add my congratulations on the article. It is brilliant and timely and, as always, *The Nation* is far ahead of any other liberal journal in the country.

CONNIE KOPELOV
Assistant Director, Speaker's Bureau,
The Chicago Council
on Foreign Relations

*Chicago, Ill.*

*Dear Sirs:* The very excellent article Does Silence Mean Guilt? comes at the time when it is most needed. It is by far the best piece of writing I have seen on the subject. It should have the widest possible circulation and should convince individuals, groups, and institutions *not* to "cooperate" with the investigators. Congratulations for printing it.

ALBERT LEVY

*Chicago, Ill.*

*Dear Sirs:* The excellence of your choice of subject matter is exceeded only by the highly informative and provocative quality of writing under the title Does Silence Mean Guilt? May you have the support, the strength, and the will always to give the facts on issues where one-sided reporting distorts them.

HILDA KAPLAN

*Brooklyn, N. Y.*

## No Money for Jenner et al.

*Dear Sirs:* I think readers of *The Nation* will be interested in the following resolution, addressed to Speaker Joseph Martin and the members of the House of Representatives, which was adopted unanimously at a meeting of 1,800 citizens of Los Angeles:

In view of the fact that the House Un-American Activities Committee, in fifteen years of its existence, has not found even one alleged subversive engaged in attempting to overthrow the government;

Also in view of the fact that this Un-American Committee has failed to meet the constitutional requirements to make investigation the basis for legislation;

Therefore be it resolved that this meeting of 1,800 citizens of Los Angeles, on March 27, 1953, sets as a goal for all patriotic Americans the discontinuance of all appropriations for any and all Un-American committees—federal, state, and local. . . .

*Los Angeles* VICTOR SHAPIRO

## Invitation to Bard

*Dear Sirs:* The Summer Institute for Social Progress is holding its 1953 Conference June 27 through July 11 at Bard College, Annandale-on-Hudson, N. Y. There will be reports and discussion groups on such topics as "The Role of the U. S. in the World Situation," "The U. N. in the Struggle vs. Poverty and Ignorance," "Possibilities of a Genuine Peace Settlement," "United States Foreign Policy," "Assessing the New Regime in Russia" and many others of similar interest. Among the participants will be Benjamin A. Cohen of Chile, Assistant Secretary General of the U. N.; Isador Lubin, member of the U. S. delegation to the U. N.; Robert Oliver, assistant to C. I. O. President Walter Reuther; William Gomberg, A. F. L. Consultant to the Mutual Security Agency; Frank M. Surface, assistant to the president of Standard Oil Company of New Jersey and other distinguished experts.

The fees are $8.50 per day and that includes tuition, board and room at Bard College. Applications should be sent to Dorothy P. Hill, Director, 14 West Elm Avenue, Wollaston, Mass.

DOROTHY P. HILL

*Wollaston, Mass.*

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Volume 176, Number 26
New York, Saturday, June 27, 1953

THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

# The Shape of Things

## Setback to a Reverse

The internal easing of Soviet rule, like Moscow's conciliatory gestures toward the rest of the world, has seemed to indicate an intention to reduce antagonism by recognizing the existence of justified grievances and doing something about them. The satellites have been prominently included in the new program, and among the satellites, East Germany was particularly favored. Not only was it provided with a civilian high commissioner, but the whole process of Sovietization appeared to be set in reverse: an amnesty was promised, land was to be returned to expropriated farmers, schools and colleges were to be relieved of various Communist restrictions, all ration cards were to be restored to those who had forfeited them.

But the taste, or promise, of a little freedom, came too late for a people who all along have been among the weakest links in the Soviet armor. The latitude offered was seized upon as a chance for real protest; the protest swelled into revolt; the revolt found leadership and organization which must have been waiting for its occasion. By the second day, the Berlin riots were city-wide and flamboyantly political; they were ended only when the Russians declared martial law and moved in troops and tanks to help the East German Security Police disperse the rioting crowds and round up the supposed leaders. Most serious for Moscow from the political point of view was the fact that the revolt was begun and led by the workers; in effect it was a strike that almost became a revolution.

The Russians have blamed the whole thing on United States agents, but this is far too flattering an estimate of American capacities. If any aid for the rebels came from American-sponsored organizations, it was certainly insignificant compared with the force of the explosion. What Russia knows, but can hardly acknowledge openly, is that the discontent it had taken steps to allay is far too big—and perhaps too well organized—to be dispelled by either tanks or minor concessions.

## Not All Jam for Us

The uprising was of course thoroughly exploited by American propaganda agencies and Western occupation authorities called upon the Russians to refrain from using gunfire in putting it down. Had it not been for the release of war prisoners in Korea only a day later (see p. 537), American satisfaction over the anti-Russian explosion in Eastern Germany would have been undiluted. But the consequences of the Berlin revolt are yet to be counted. In the end they may add up to something almost as uncomfortable and challenging to the United States as to Russia.

The revolt began, as did the riots in Czechoslovakia two weeks earlier, as a protest against unbearable economic exactions and oppressive political controls. But whether the Soviet government can afford to relax this economic stranglehold, nobody knows. The Berlin outburst may only bring heavier demands and tighter controls. But if the Kremlin has firmly set its mind on a showdown with the West in Germany, it cannot afford a series of bloody working-class revolts growing out of last week's uprising. The marching workers in Berlin shouted for "unity" and "free elections." Already the Russians have announced an acceleration of the program of economic and political concessions. Should Moscow back this with a serious, reasonable unity offer, attractive to East Germans and West Germans alike, the United States might find itself facing the issue it has hoped most desperately to avoid—at least until West German integration in the Western Alliance is signed and in effect.

## An American Failure

The execution of the Rosenbergs was a sickening and disheartening failure—of the American conscience, of the American sense of fair play, of American moral leadership, of American justice. With world opinion aroused by the judicial horror implicit in sending the mother of two minor children to the electric chair for an act of peace-time espionage, about all we have had to say in reply is that "Communist propagandists" are to blame. But Communist propagandists did not prompt the London *News Chronicle* to observe:

> It is indeed an astonishing thing that the most important issue of this whole astonishing case appears only to have been raised in the last minute of the eleventh hour. . . . Only on Wednesday of this week, President Eisenhower was saying how the Coronation had thrown a vivid light on the glorious heritage of law that was

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# In This Issue


EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 533

The Present Danger
III. On Principles and Policy 535

ARTICLES

Blunder in Korea *by Observer* 537

Ike's Labor Walkout:
The Taft-Hartley Squeeze
*by Roy W. Wier* 538

Eyewitness: South African Racism
*by Basil Davidson* 540

Catholic Europe?
Setback in Italy
*by J. Alvarez del Vayo* 542

Unesco's Travail:
McCarthyism in Paris
*by Alexander Werth* 543

BOOKS

Lessons of Asia *by Mark Gayn* 545

New Books in Brief 547

THEATER *by Harold Clurman* 548

MUSIC *by B. H. Haggin* 549

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 521
*by Frank W. Lewis* 550

LETTERS opposite 533



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*The Nation* published weekly and copyright, 1953, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representatives for Continental Europe: Publicitas.

*Subscription Prices:* Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

*Change of Address:* Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

*Information to Libraries: The Nation* is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.


common to the United States and Britain. It is a pity that a heritage of clemency is not apparently common to them.

As immoral as the use of the cry "Communist propaganda" to blind Americans to the true state of world opinion was the editorial ballyhoo about the "due process" accorded the defendants. The plain fact is that the Supreme Court consistently refused to review the case and the substantial point on which Justice Douglas relied in granting a stay was only considered in the most oblique manner and with such indecent haste that two members of the court felt compelled to enter vigorous protests over the speed-up ordered by the Attorney General. How much better it would have been if, as Justice Black pointed out, the court had granted a full review on all the issues. As it is, the world will not be permitted to forget that very grave doubt exists that the death sentence was properly imposed. Nor do Communist propagandists need to remind those who read the American press that influential newspapers screamed for the blood of the Rosenbergs or that word of the execution was greeted with applause in Congress where Representative Frank L. Chelf interrupted a debate on foreign aid to say: "Praise God from Whom all blessings flow and thanks to the Supreme Court."

Years ago, John Jay Chapman said of a lynching in Coatesville, Pennsylvania: "I said to myself: 'I shall forget this, we shall all forget it; but it will be there. What I have seen is not an illusion. It is the truth. I have seen death in the heart of this people.' For to look at the agony of a fellow-being and remain aloof means death in the heart of the onlooker."

This failure of the American conscience was, however, in part redeemed by the courage, insight, and moral integrity of Justice Douglas and Justice Black. Every American who values our tradition of individual as distinguished from "political" or collective justice will be forever grateful to them. The failure was also redeemed in part by the Rosenbergs who, guilty or not, went to their deaths with a composure and dignity that won praise even from hostile newspapers.

## "Intruders and Interlopers"

But this publication feels a special gratitude to Irwin Edelman, an indefatigable pamphleteer and soapbox orator who has been attempting to enlighten the crowds in Los Angeles' Pershing Square these many years. Expelled from the Communist Party in 1947, Edelman did not turn informer or renegade; instead he turned on the fools and opportunists who had expelled him and has been making life miserable for them ever since. Advertisements for his first pamphlet on the Rosenberg case—a thoroughly justified criticism of the manner in which the defense had been conducted—were refused by,




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among other publications, the *National Guardian*. The ads appeared in *The Nation* as did a lengthy communication from Edelman.

In the last tragic chapter it was Edelman who came forward as the "friend" of the Rosenbergs to raise the point, over the objection of the Rosenbergs' accredited counsel, that won a stay and might, if it had been raised earlier, have won a review. Yet one of the justices referred to him as a "vagrant," citing a court decision from which it clearly appears that Edelman had raised and carried to the Supreme Court of California an important free-speech issue. A word of appreciation, too, should go to Daniel G. Marshall and Fyke Farmer, the lawyers who volunteered to help Edelman and who, with him, were denounced as "intruders and interlopers." A prominent Catholic layman whose trip to Washington was financed by Los Angeles Unitarians, Mr. Marshall has a fine record of distinguished service on behalf of civil rights and liberties.

On the night the Rosenbergs were executed, the intrepid Edelman was chased from Pershing Square by an angry crowd. As the spry little Russian-born pamphleteer sought refuge in a nearby coffee shop, he shouted at his pursuers: "If you are happy about the execution of the Rosenbergs, you are rotten to the core." In that act of defiance and clarity, this little man with a passion for justice demonstrated, as Chapman demonstrated in 1911, that there are always some Americans who can not remain aloof when they look on the agony of a fellow human being.

# The Present Danger

## III. On Principles and Policy

EARLIER instalments of this three-part editorial (June 6 and 13) dealt with the nature of McCarthyism and with McCarthy's tactics; this concluding note suggests the principles and policy by which the large and growing opposition to McCarthyism should be guided.

McCarthy has possession of an issue and an instrument —and both should be wrested from him. The issue, of course, is "the menace of communism" (as conceived by McCarthy). As long as we continue to identify American communism—puny in strength and irrelevant in doctrine, with the power and potential threat of Soviet Russia—our gullibility will be exploited by McCarthy or his successor. It is this myth of the omnipotence of communism which blinds us to the real meaning of the revolutionary tides now sweeping through Asia, the Middle East, Africa, Latin America and, in other forms, through Europe. As long as we continue to treat these movements as primarily by-products of the activities of Kremlin-directed conspiratorial parties, we will never understand them.

The same myth also blinds us to a realization of why it is that communism has a powerful appeal to people in so-called "backward" and colonial areas, namely, that it does have a technique for dealing with certain problems facing these peoples: a dictatorially imposed and ruthlessly policed plan for liquidating feudal land tenures, abolishing entrenched corruption, ending usury, forcing capital accumulations by expropriations, and so forth. By the same token it blinds us to the fact that communism cannot subvert the institutions of a country with deeply rooted democratic traditions and an expanding economy. The large vote polled by the Communist Party in France and the left in Italy is a measure not of party membership but of general discontent. Czechoslovakia was a special case in which external military pressure was perhaps the decisive factor and there the Communists seem to have bought a little more than they bargained for; East Germany is another case in point.

But instead of exposing his version of the Communist danger as a hoax, McCarthy's opponents have generally vied with him in stimulating the fear which he exploits. "We know how to fight the Communist menace better than he does," is their usual line.

Apart from this, McCarthy's opposition obligingly cooperates with him by accepting his premise that communism is an inadmissible heresy and as such must be extirpated. Grant this premise and the nature of the task determines the nature of the weapons to be used. Test oaths, loyalty hearings, peephole probes, inquisitions, bookburnings, and other medieval horrors become not "unfortunate" but unavoidable. This is the premise which McCarthy's opposition must reject. One cannot proscribe any particular idea without endangering the freedom indispensable for the germination and discussion of ideas generally. When the opposition to communism is based on expediency rather than principle, people become hopelessly confused. Issues are blurred. Real questions are ignored. Not to recognize that the phoney question "Should Communists be permitted to teach?" masks the real question "Who is to control American education?" —duly constituted school authorities or pressure groups and their Congressional allies—is to present McCarthy with the keys to power. Similarly it doesn't really matter whether library books are burned or stored in basements or sold to second-hand stores; what matters is whether or not books are to be judged on their merits rather than on the basis of what a Congressional committee thinks about the men and women who wrote them.

THE demoralization of McCarthy's opposition is strikingly apparent in the outpouring of editorials in anti-McCarthy newspapers rebuking Dr. Einstein for his forthright opposition to Congressional inquisitions. Similarly, it is easy to say that those who hold unpopular views should disclose them and take the consequences, but to condemn the witness who invokes a constitutional



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right without condemning the committee that invades *his* rights is to collaborate with McCarthy.

The opposition, therefore, must take the issue of communism away from McCarthy by insisting that the danger has been grossly exaggerated and mistakenly analyzed; by rejecting without qualification the suggestion that communism should be suppressed as a heresy; and by giving a new edge and meaning and consistency to democratic values and ideals.

Nor should the opposition lose any time in disarming Joe McCarthy. His major weapon—he has others—is the inquisitorial committee. No one questions the value of committees of inquiry; legislative bodies could not function without them. But legislative committees should not be permitted to function as star-chamber inquiries. They have no right to define political crimes and then try individuals for these "crimes" without due process of law, imposing sentences which are among the most severe that society can impose. Changing the rules or personnel will never get at the root of the evil; the inquisitions must be stopped—by pressure of an organized public opinion, by choking off their appropriations, by court action.

BUT McCarthy also has a strategy. His present aim, writes William S. White (*Look,* June 16), is "to continue to alter the views, the actions, and the tone of the Republican Party. With its consent, preferably; but without its consent if necessary." He intends to bring the extreme right wing to undisputed control of the party. To this end, he has launched a flanking movement by which he expects to envelop the moderates. He is now attempting to externalize the witch hunt; hence the emphasis on smuggling arms to Latin America, the "betrayal" of American troops in Korea by Pentagon "traitors" who refused to supply adequate ammunition, the twisting of the British lion's tail, and the whole new business of posing as ex-officio Secretary of State. As the *Economist* notes, "he has still some months in which to make hay at home among government employees appointed by Democratic administrations but, by the time the Congressional elections of 1954 come along, no Republican will appreciate him if he is still finding Communists in Washington. But Communists in the governments of allies will always be useful discoveries . . ." Exploiting differences between this country and its allies, McCarthy will be able to aggravate domestic tensions. His appeal to prejudice and hatred can be broadened. And he will be able to lend great aid to the "go-it-aloners" within the party. More than one McCarthyite commentator has warned that the Korean truce may boomerang on the President. Temporarily, Senator Knowland and the other go-it-aloners are cooperating; but a rebellion of great potential explosive force is brewing beneath the surface. By 1954 or sooner the go-it-aloners may be the dominant power in the Republican Party and the witch hunt might then be sharply pointed at some external "enemy," including possibly one or more of our allies.

"GO-IT-ALONE" is simply the external manifestation of Know-Nothingism at home. It is not a policy; it is the negation of policy. The Know-Nothingism which finds expression in bookburnings is not a program; it is a way of concealing the ignorance of the bookburners. McCarthy has a strategy; he does not have a policy or program and is probably incapable of developing either. But this is not a handicap so long as no one calls attention to the fact that the emperor is naked.

To oppose McCarthyism, therefore, the opposition must develop a foreign policy and domestic program which will not only be relevant to world needs, aspirations, and realities but will expose the blind negation which is "anti-communism," McCarthy-style. For if we are going to "fight communism" as a heresy in Paris, Rome, and the rice fields of Southeast Asia, it will continue to seem altogether logical to a majority of Americans that we should fight it as a heresy at home. If we are going to burn library books in India and Australia, we might just as well brand them in San Antonio. In short McCarthyism feeds on all the negative aspects of our foreign policy.

But the immediate task is not the formulation of a new policy. As long as McCarthyism flourishes we shall be unable to formulate any policy which is not approved by McCarthy. The immediate task, therefore, is to bring into being a broad coalition of all the elements that, whatever their differences on foreign or domestic policy, share a common detestation of of McCarthyism. Counter-pressures must be brought to bear upon public officials to offset the one-sided pressure which has apparently forced the President, on several recent occasions, to appease McCarthy. How many letters did the President receive commending his original bookburning speech at Dartmouth? How many college presidents other than President Dodds of Princeton publicly endorsed it?

In a recent statement denouncing the "sickness of fear" that grips the nation, Mrs. Dwight F. Davis of Washington and Southhampton—one of our classic conservatives—gave the formula for stopping McCarthyism. "It is for those who care about the American tradition *to join together* in order to protect that tradition . . . an energetic organization is needed to take the part of other victims of the same brand of snide attack [as that leveled against Mrs. Mildred McAfee Horton], and especially of the humbler people who have nowhere to turn when agencies *of their own government* unjustly decide to destroy them. I stand ready to join with other right-thinking citizens if such an organization is formed [emphasis added]." What Mrs. Davis says goes to the heart of the present danger: those who oppose the witch hunt must join together to stop it. Otherwise, it won't be stopped.



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# BLUNDER IN KOREA . . . *by Observer*

*Washington*

IT HAS BECOME a quibble whether there was connivance between American authorities and Syngman Rhee to engineer the mass escape of North Korean war prisoners. In charging such collusion, the Communists seem to be suggesting that General Mark Clark sat huddled in a dark Seoul cellar with Rhee while they brewed the plot. Pyongyang's radio tried to lend substance to the charge by accusing the Americans of signing "a secret pact" with South Korea to sabotage an armistice—a pact of which one of the provisions was for the prisoners' release.

In any such literal sense it is silly to accuse the United States government of conspiring with Rhee to torpedo the truce. Why should American representatives have fumed and sweated for more than a year to negotiate the prisoner exchange if it had been intended to scrap the agreement after its attainment? Since the non-returning captives were soon to be freed under the truce, it made no sense from an official American viewpoint to speed their release by skullduggery that is gravely embarrassing to Washington.

IT IS of course possible that individual Americans who disagree with the truce terms actively connived with Rhee. On this point we must await more evidence. But in any case nobody who is honest and in full possession of his faculties will claim that the Eisenhower Administration and American commanders in Korea are innocent of at least passive complicity. The distinction is between United States authorities' criminal negligence and active plotting by Rhee and his accomplices. A report from General Mark Clark, U. N. supreme commander for Korea, reached Washington some twelve days before Rhee sprung the prison camps and let more than 25,000 North Koreans escape. Clark's message, copies of which were given to British Commonwealth governments, served notice that more trouble was to be expected from Rhee. Among the moves threatened by the South Korean president which Clark mentioned were: (1) refusal to recognize a cease-fire; (2) launching of a South Korean drive northward; and (3) an order to the camp guards to allow the "anti-Communist" North Korean captives to go free.

Just after Clark's message reached Washington, a high State Department official remarked to this writer, "We still have to reckon with some irrational acts of Rhee."

HAVING been warned, what did the United States do to thwart Rhee's efforts to scuttle the armistice? The straight answer, to the best of our knowledge, is nothing. General Clark and United States Ambassador Ellis Briggs feebly went on trying to induce Rhee to accept the truce. Their suasion failed to convince Rhee, who continued to be crudely candid in advertising his intention to prolong the war.

With the advance tip about the possible break from the prison camps, the obvious move was to reinforce American guards whom the South Korean guards outnumbered by about eight to one. The excuse afterwards given for failing to do this was that it might have precipitated clashes between the troops of the two countries. This explanation has been shown to be very thin. After Rhee freed the prisoners, General Clark did dispatch more Americans from Japan to help patrol the prison camps. There were no resultant collisions between Americans and South Koreans.

Senator Robert Hendrickson, New Jersey Republican, has suggested a Senate investigation "to determine the extent of American culpability" in the whole affair. We believe Hendrickson's proposal is good, but we would urge one amendment. The five-nation neutral commission named to supervise the armistice is already available to go to Korea. This is the most suitable body to conduct such an inquiry and report to the United Nations. It would avoid the obvious weakness in Hendrickson's plan: the temptation for American politicians to whitewash other American authorities involved in an international incident.

It is still touch-and-go whether the armistice, now in shape for signature, will be concluded. By demanding recapture of all the freed North Korean prisoners, the Communists are asking something which only Rhee could give. But to assign this job to Rhee would, as the German saying goes, certainly be appointing a goat to be gardner. On the other hand, Communist China and North Korea are entirely justified in calling for clarity on whether South Korea will observe an armistice.

Another ugly aspect of these developments is that, even if we get the truce, American troops will have to stay in Korea much longer than should be necessary. If we sit down with the Chinese and North Korean Communists to discuss a gradual removal of foreign forces from Korea, we shall have to keep glancing over our shoulder. Our soldiers' task will be doubled by the need to restrain South Korean troops from renewing hostilities. As long as Rhee is in power, he is just as capable of ordering his men to reopen the war in defiance of the U. N. as he was to direct the release of prisoners despite his U. N. "superiors."

ONE OF the ironies of the situation has been overlooked. Only a few days before the war prisoners' break, Dulles had drawn from the mothballs for publication after the signing of the armistice, a declaration written eighteen months ago. The proclamation affirms on behalf of the sixteen allied nations fighting in Korea, the U. N.'s determination faithfully to carry out the truce and warns the Communists of the dire consequences of any breach. The State Department had just won the assent of the other fifteen allies to this pronunciamento when our own side gravely violated the truce agreement even before it was signed.

Syngman Rhee's outrageous coup made the Eisenhower Administration ridiculous in another respect. In the week preceding the springing of the prisoners, India and Switzerland had



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wavered about joining the neutral commission in Korea. They questioned the U. N. command's authority over the South Koreans. To dispel their hesitancy, the State Department gave the strongest imaginable assurances, first, that the South Koreans are under the United Nations command and, secondly, that the United States—being charged with the unified command—exercises power over the prisoners-of-war camps. Hardly had the State Department dished out these solemn assurances when Rhee—behind the back of the U. N. command—ordered the captives' release and smilingly defied President Eisenhower's authority.

American policy now appears to be to reward Syngman Rhee's infamy. In a weak statement, Secretary Dulles publicly reprimanded Rhee. In letters to the evil old man of South Korea, Mr. Eisenhower and General Clark reminded Rhee of his broken promises. At the same moment, however, Dulles is reported to have handed the visiting prime minister of South Korea, Paik Too Chin, a memorandum renewing and detailing the United States offer of a military pact. Lest Rhee take too seriously the various expressions of American anger, we again pledge him the support of America's armed power.

The least we have a right to expect is that the offer of the United States military guarantee be withdrawn. To proceed with Syngman Rhee as a treaty partner is to put into this unbalanced, sinister man's hands a commitment that could be abused not merely to rekindle the Korean conflict but to drag the United States into another world war.

# EYEWITNESS

## South African Racism . . *Basil Davidson*

*Johannesburg*

AFRICANS and policemen have been exchanging stones and bullets for a good many years, and most whites in South Africa think it in poor taste to draw attention to the fact. But of late the clashes have been sharper and more frequent, and the sense of a fatal dynamism in the course of events breaks through the surface of a daily life which is still, for whites, luxurious and easygoing.

Few acts remain outside the grasp of a legal system that tends more and more to make a mockery of law. Every sordid little fall from grace may expose the offender to dire penalties. I noticed one of these the other day when glancing through a recent volume of Appeal Court records, and I give it here as a reasonably typical example of the kind of legalism which has taken the place of every sane and decent regulation of human behavior.

In the case of R. v. B. and H. (Cape Province Division) February, 1953, the judge declared:

> The accused in this case were charged with a contravention of Section 1 of Act 5 of 1927 as amended by Act 21 of 1950, in that accused No. 1, being a male European person, had intercourse with accused No. 2, being a non-European female person. . . . The accused both pleaded not guilty but were found guilty by the magistrate of Wynberg and were sentenced to four months' imprisonment with hard labor. . . . The evidence adduced on behalf of the Crown was to the effect that at 12:30 on the morning of the 16th August last year, Constable van Wyk, with Native Constable Sikolo, went to a tearoom called the Green Lawn Restaurant at Hout Bay. They went to a room which both claim was lit by an electric light and they looked through the window of this room and they saw the two accused having intercourse with each other.

The issue in the appeal, which failed, was not whether the law should punish fornication or whether the police were justified in collecting their evidence as they did but whether the woman in the case was in fact a non-European. She was able, during appeal, to show that she was by birth a European—the law, of course, only punishes intercourse between white and non-white—but that availed her nothing. It was shown that for some time before her arrest she had been living "as a non-European," which caused the magistrate to rule that she was one legally, in spite of having two white parents. "Race" in South Africa is what it seems to be, not what it is.

THIS MATTER of race is nothing academic. Always corrupting and cruel, racial segregation has become ferocious in its consequences. The Group Areas Act, enacted by the last Nationalist government and now about to be applied by the new Nationalist government, is designed to destroy the last formal possibilities of residential integration in a country where white and non-white are thrown more and more closely together by economic pressures and cannot live without each other. Even if this act is applied with the usual "tolerance" allowable in South Africa for inefficiency, it will mean the shifting of big urban populations from one area to another and the loss of livelihood for many non-whites who have managed to open shops or conduct small businesses in sections declared to be "white."

To control the few whites who are prepared to make a stand against this mounting racialism, as well as all non-whites, there is a law which comes straight out of "Mein Kampf." You are guilty under the Suppression of Communism Act if you further any of the "objects of communism," now defined by statute as "any political, industrial, social, or economic change by disturbance, disorder, or unlawful acts or omissions." As counsel have argued, the charge of "statutory communism" can be brought against any black-marketeer, any employer who systematically underpays his workers, any group of men marching through the streets in protest against anything without a permit—or, given the atmosphere of the lower courts, of *seeming* to march—and, indeed, the Nationalist government itself for passing

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the Separate Representation of Colored Voters Act, which the Appeal Court has declared illegal.

All this, though, is small beer when set beside the acts of last February. Designed to crush the passive-resistance movement against racial discrimination, the Criminal Law Amendment Act and the Public Safety Act raise dictatorship to a racial fury hitherto exceeded only by Hitler. The Public Safety Act makes it possible for the government to declare a state of emergency at any time and to enact regulations for coping with almost any conceivable situation—one or two reservations show that the measure is designed principally to crush any form of protest against racialism. The Criminal Law Amendment Act must be read to be believed. Two provisions deserve quoting in full:

1. Whenever any person is convicted of an offense which is proved to have been committed by way of protest, or in support of any campaign against any law or in support of any campaign for the repeal or modification of any law, or the variation or limitation of the application or administration of any law, the court convicting him may, notwithstanding anything to the contrary in any other law contained, sentence him to (a) a fine not exceeding three hundred pounds; or (b) imprisonment for a period not exceeding three years; or (c) a whipping or (d) both such fine and such imprisonment, or (e) both such fine and such a whipping; or (f) both such imprisonment and such a whipping.

2. Any person who (a) in any manner whatsoever advises, encourages, incites, commands, aids or procures any other person or persons in general; or (b) uses any language or does any act or thing calculated to cause any person or persons in general, to commit an offense by way of protest against a law or in support of any campaign against any law. . . .

shall receive penalties set forth in Section 1 except that the fine for incitement may rise to £500 and the length of imprisonment to five years, the maximum of lashes remaining generally at ten. Furthermore, you are guilty under Section 2 if you solicit, accept, receive, offer, or give "any money or other article" for the purpose of assisting any act of protest involving breach of the law.

It is pointless to pretend that there is any "rule of law" left in South Africa. And it is worth noting, as a footnote, that the first prosecution under the Criminal Law Amendment Act was of a certain Arthur Matlala, an African of Johannesburg, who was arrested for acts allegedly committed on February 26, six days before the law was gazetted by the government. The accused was guilty of "incitement," for which he received a fine of £50 or six months' hard labor, and of soliciting money for the passive-resistance campaign, for which he received one year's imprisonment and eight strokes. The incitement consisted in the fact that Matlala possessed a copy of Fowler and Smit's "New History for Senior Certificate for Matriculation," in which "certain passages that dealt with the French Revolution had been marked in red and blue pencil. Among these were passages describing how the people of Paris had attacked the Bastille."

ON MY ARRIVAL in Johannesburg I was myself served with a notice by the chief immigration officer declaring that I had been a "prohibited immigrant" in the Union since 1951, when I last reported on South Africa. I should not now be here but for an invitation to Swaziland from the Commonwealth Relations Office and the British Administration there, which wanted to show me the fine work they are doing in that small territory in the way of forestry and irrigation. I was eager to see a number of people in Johannesburg but had no time to make appointments.

One was Dr. Dadoo. I took a taxi to his office and asked some Indians outside if I would find him there. They shook their heads and turned away. A wall of suspicion shuts away the white man from the non-white. Then I had a stroke of luck. An Indian in a long white coat came out on the pavement. He gave me a hard questioning look, then suddenly relaxed, for we had met two years before. This was Yusuf Dadoo, leader of the South African Indian Congress and one of half a dozen non-whites who have given supremely good leadership to the organization of passive resistance to racialist laws.

Others I have met in much the same way, haphazardly, by good luck, and others I have missed. They are marked men, hemmed around with prohibitions so all-invading that the police can arrest them any time they choose.

There seems to be complete agreement between the African and Indian leaders, and their cohesion with the colored leaders from the Cape is steadily growing. This solidarity was reflected in their followers during the months of passive resistance, in Natal as well as in the Cape and the Transvaal. According to the best opinion I can gather in Johannesburg, it represents a turning-point in South African history.

In spite of frantic efforts by the government, backed unconditionally in this matter by the opposition United Party, non-violent resistance by non-whites in the second part of 1952 and the early weeks of 1953 was able to achieve its main objectives: to show that resistance was possible, to unify the non-white communities in resistance to racialism, and to educate them in ways and means of resistance. Unexpectedly large numbers of volunteers from the African, colored, and Indian communities deliberately and pacifically courted arrest by breaking some petty rule.

WHAT WILL happen next? The recent restrictive proclamations and acts have made it impossible for individuals and small groups to keep on breaking regulations, for the penalties are crushingly severe. "The principle of non-violence will be observed," Dr. Dadoo told me, "but we shall change our tactics." Walter Sisulu said the same thing. They did not tell me what their new tactics will be, and perhaps they have yet to select them. With the Nationalists remaining in power, the struggle is bound to be long and painful. The leaders have apparently learned a great deal. When the African National Con-



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gress began its campaign, it had only 5,000 dues-paying members; today, according to Walter Sisulu, it has 60,000. When the next round starts, the non-white organizations will have a far firmer and broader basis in the masses.

There is no doubt, I think, that it will start sometime, though one cannot say just how and when. Whether it will remain non-violent is more speculative. The present leaders are men of moderate liberal or leftist views who are known to condemn violence on political and religious grounds. The creed of Gandhi's *satyagraha* is paramount among the Indians and is said to be spreading fast among the Africans. But the Nationalist government has shown that there is nothing it dislikes more than non-violent resistance, which prevents its own favorite response—violence. The government has tried in vain to corrupt or intimidate the leaders of the non-whites. The influence of these leaders has probably never been so great as it is today. They have kept the peace at a time when the government, through a notoriously provocative police force, has done its best to break it. In its blindness the government may yet deprive the non-white of this sane and thoughtful leadership. It may yet drive the non-whites to the point where anything would be better than acquiescence. Certainly the government and its supporters will have only themselves to blame if things get out of hand.

# Ike's Labor Walk-Out

## The Taft-Hartley Freeze . . . *by Roy W. Wier*

*Washington*

THE apparent decision of Congressional Republican leadership and the Administration to put off revision of the Taft-Hartley act until next year repudiates a specific pledge made to labor by President Eisenhower during last year's campaign and in his State of the Union message this year. It must be mentioned, however, in any analysis of the Administration attitude toward this controversial measure that the law might have been made even less acceptable to labor than it now is by amendments on which employer and management groups presented a united front while labor itself was divided. It should also be noted that the past four months have been relatively quiet in the labor-management field and the same situation may not prevail next spring, when the question of revision is scheduled to be taken up. Thus, if the Republicans try to carry out their campaign pledges in the coming year, the risk to labor may be balanced by Republican reluctance to jeopardize the 1954 elections by enacting tougher amendments.

Up to the time that the Senate Labor Committee's so-called "staff committee print," embodying proposed changes in the act, was released by Chairman H. Alexander Smith, there was some reason to believe that the committee was on the whole more friendly to labor's objectives than the House Committee on Education and Labor. And since Senator Smith declared that the "staff" bill as presented does not reflect the opinion of the full committee or of the Republican majority, that still may be true. But the proposal to change the historic preamble which sets forth labor's rights and the necessity for protecting them and the proposal to permit individual states to pass anti-labor measures which will supersede federal law are highly disquieting to labor. Moreover, since the staff committee draft bill would open the way to the political packing of the National Labor Relations Board and give employers the right to determine whether work performed is "useful or relevant," thus letting them make cuts in the working staff without collective bargaining, it reveals a dangerous trend away from President Eisenhower's pledge to make the labor law one that would "merit the respect and support of both labor and management."

The proposal to extend the requirement of a non-Communist oath not only to employers but also to union members who formulate and carry out trade-union policy cannot be justified by any testimony given before either the Senate or the House labor committee. The collection of such affidavits from the thousands of convention delegates, shop stewards, and others who make union policy would bog down N. L. R. B. and union procedure in a morass of paper work.

Perhaps too much time should not be spent discussing what may be only a trial balloon, but the fact that the balloon was sent up is a warning to all sections

of the labor movement that it will not be easy to eliminate the evils of the present act.

The Senate Labor Committee approached revision of Taft-Hartley somewhat differently from the House committee. Whereas the Senate group decided to act on various amendments which have been submitted, the House committee is considering motions for outright repeal of the laws and the substitution therefor of an amended Wagner act. Actually repeal is not possible at this time. We who favor it could today probably muster only seven of the twenty-six

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committee votes, including my own. The others, all Democrats, are Kelley of Pennsylvania, Powell of New York, Bailey of West Virgina, Perkins of Kentucky, Howell of New Jersey, and Metcalf of Montana. In addition we could count on Elliott of Alabama and Miller of Kansas to go along on several major changes aimed at liberalizing the law in favor of labor.

On the Republican side, Chairman McConnell of Pennsylvania would probably support a number of pro-labor amendments, most of them minor from labor's point of view. On such major matters as injunctions and boycott provisions, two of the worst sections of the present law from labor's standpoint, the chairman is more likely to support tightening than any relaxation. Definitely unfriendly to labor's position and pro-Taft-Hartley are Gwinn of New York, Smith of Kansas, Kearns of Pennsylvania, Velde of Illinois, Hoffman of Michigan, and probably Kersten of Wisconsin. Berry of South Dakota and Harrison of Wyoming, as well as Bosch of New York, Holt of California, Rhodes of Arizona, Wainwright of New York, and Frelinghuysen of New Jersey seem inclined to follow the views of Chairman McConnell.

With such a line-up, it might well be best for labor to avoid pushing for changes at this time since any change might be for the worse. Personally, I would rather leave the labor-law controversy as a live issue for consideration at some more propitious time—say, after the 1954 elections—rather than waste energy on meaningless modifications or run the very grave risk of making the law more biased and unfair than it is now.

Under these circumstances, the Republican decision to take no action on Taft-Hartley at this session of Congress may turn out to be an unintentional boon to labor, although the disappointment of several of labor's chief spokesmen is understandable. They had been given certain pledges which are now being withdrawn.

SOMETHING must be said, however, about labor's own approach to this controversy. Labor presented no united front in its presentations before the two committees, while the nearly 100 employer witnesses spoke almost with a single voice for amendments which would make Taft-Hartley an unmistakeable "union-busting" law. Some of the employers' extreme proposals—the ban on industry-wide bargaining and industry-wide strikes, the "states' rights" proposal and the demands for opening up the injunctive process to wide employer use against unions—are so drastic a departure from even the present unsatisfactory law that it is tempting to look upon them as "bargaining counters" put forward merely to block enactment of labor's legitimate demands.

Labor, on the other hand, had no such unified program. Even within the A. F. of L. there were marked differences of opinion as to the measures on which most pressure should be brought. A spokesman for one A. F. of L. union advocated compulsory arbitration; the head of another differed strongly. A C. I. O. spokesman wanted to throw "national emergency" strike situations into Congress; other labor spokesmen argued that any proposals to deal with so-called "national emergencies," including the present eighty-day injunction clause, were unnecessary because, they said, there never has been a real "national emergency" strike.

SINCE THE coal shut-downs are most often cited as "national emergency" strikes it may be of value to quote from the testimony of spokesmen for the United Mine Workers. "In each year when strikes have occurred," they pointed out, "the coal production was greater than in the years in which there were no strikes." Results of detailed research by industrial relations experts were introduced to prove that in the past thirteen years "a national emergency has never actually developed." The U. M. W. made one telling point which, if understood, would end the hysteria over strikes which was primarily responsible for Taft-Hartley in the first place. "Every strike and lockout carries with it the seeds of its own determination and solution," a U. M. W. spokesman declared, adding that "from the inception of the strike, with the pressures on both the strikers and the employers, the seeds are really sown for a settlement of that particular situation."

Such testimony—and there were other examples—went to the heart of the whole Taft-Hartley controversy. But the

U. M. W. went on to advocate not only repeal of Taft-Hartley but also the repeal of the provisions of the Wagner act which are still contained therein. The coal miners probably could stand up to such a situation but how many other unions could—particularly in the South?

Other labor advocates demanded only such modifications of the law as would relieve their own particular unions of certain onerous restrictions, ignoring the welfare of the labor movement as a whole. Thus labor's demands varied all the way from pleas for repeal of *all* labor laws, including even the basic legal protection of the right to organize and bargain collectively, to suggestions for narrow and specialized changes which were either unacceptable or unimportant to other parts of the labor movement.

If anything points up the need for labor unity, it is this situation in the legislative field where the employers speak with one voice and labor speaks with many. Congressmen who may be wavering on vital labor questions cannot help but be influenced when the voice of labor is so confused. I recognize that labor leaders are elected by their members to advance the special interests of their own organizations and only secondarily to advance the interests of the labor movement in general. But there are times when labor *must* speak with one voice, and this is one of them.

It is a tragic thing that labor, which includes the vast majority of the citizens of this country, is unable to make its voice heard effectively in Congress. In this instance the wrong done labor is compounded by the fact that the present Administration, though it admitted that there were evils in the Taft-Hartley law, has made no move to carry out its pledges to correct them. Labor Secretary



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Durkin has been kept under wraps. The Administration itself has remained silent.

Spokesmen for business knew weeks ago that there would be no action taken on Taft-Hartley at this session. Employers are predicting that nothing will be done next year either, despite President Eisenhower's public statement that Taft-Hartley "must be changed—America wants no law licensing union-busting, and neither do I," and despite his State of the Union message in which he said that prompt "corrective action" should be taken.

The answer is obvious. Labor must speak with a strong and united voice at Congressional hearings and—above all—at the polls in 1954.

# Catholic Europe?

## Setback in Italy . . *by J. Alvarez del Vayo*

*Rome*

THE days of excitement are over, and it is possible to view with detachment and in some depth the panorama now unfolding in Italy. The most solid impression left by the elections is that the Italian people has become politically mature. It knows what it wants and is too independent to be swayed by a program of foreign aid or by American encouragement of Italy's ambition to become a great power. I will never forget the crowds in the Piazza Colonna the night it was announced that the government had failed to get the absolute majority which, under the new electoral law, would have given it 380 out of the 590 seats in the Chamber. It was an excited crowd, eagerly, intelligently discussing the returns; refusing to go home to bed in the hope of late news. Next morning when I visited the headquarters of the Italian Socialist Party, which this time had gone to the polls with an independent list and not under the protection of the stronger Communist Party, I found the same enthusiasm, together with a feeling of pride in its enhanced power.

But it was not only in opposition circles, whether left or right, but among government supporters as well that one sensed a recognition that a new era had opened for Italy. De Gasperi was the first to understand the significance of the vote. While some of his collaborators consoled themselves with the majority of a dozen or so that the government finally mustered in the Chamber, the Premier's first post-election statement, made in an interview with the newspaper *Messagero*, courageously put it on record that he was impressed with the strength of communism in Italy. De Gasperi knows better than anybody else that, in the pre-election period inaugurated by the adoption of the new electoral law, every possible argument was used against the Communists. The events in Eastern Europe, the trials, the splits within the Italian Communist Party (which now appear to have been exaggerated), the failure of the strikes which it organized—all these, and more, were used as evidence that communism was on the decline.

BUT THE success of the Italian Socialist Party was an even greater shock to the government cohorts. The official theory was that Pietro Nenni and his followers, without the support of an alliance with the Communists, hardly had a chance of success. The theory was effectively exploded. It is not only that the seventy-five deputies elected by the Italian Socialist Party, together with the 143 Communist deputies, represent a considerable force; it is also that the electoral gains of the two left-wing parties have put them in a more favorable position to sway popular feeling. One Italian out of every three voted for the extreme left. Since the army is based upon universal military service, it can safely be assumed that at least a third of the Italian armed forces would strongly object to risking their lives in an anti-Communist crusade. In broader terms, the elections proved to the Premier as to his opponents that the period of American tutelage based on the power to give or withhold dollars is over.

*Pietro Nenni*

But the immediate problem facing De Gasperi is that of safeguarding his parliamentary control. With his majority of sixteen he technically has the margin required for continued leadership of the present coalition. Dr. Adenauer became Chancellor in Bonn by a majority of only one vote and he is still Chancellor. But the Italians today are not like the West Germans, nor is it a matter of statistics alone. The parties which fought at the side of the *Democrazia Cristiana*—the Saragat Socialists, the Liberals, the Pacciardi Republicans—emerged from the election with their prestige destroyed. Saragat himself now considers his situation to be so unpromising that he has announced to his friends his intention of giving up the post of Secretary General of the party. The Republican Party has also been so badly beaten that one of its most intelligent leaders, La Malfa, after being informed that the government had failed to win the popular majority, spontaneously declared to journalists: "In the next Chamber we shall be only spectators." He might have added that the Republican spectators will be only a handful—five deputies. The Liberal Party has been reduced to the romantic ideal



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of a group of intellectuals. None of these three parties has any future. In the great chess game that will shortly start at Montecitorio Palace, they will be only pawns.

Their loss of popularity is in direct relation to their pro-Americanism. This is an important fact to bear in mind. As the smallest parties of the government coalition, they felt even more obliged than the Chistian Democrats—still the largest Italian party, even after their defeat—to support the policy of Washington. They were the most open and the most militant champions of NATO, and this was one of the chief causes of their poor showing.

De Gasperi will certainly think of a more solid party, now in opposition, to take the place of these deflated allies. The shift will require some consideration as it is not free from risk. His choice is narrow in any case. To build a really stable majority he will have to bring into his coalition either Nenni's Socialists or the Monarchists—the latter, of course, by far the more likely choice. But at the outset he is trying to form a new Cabinet with the constituent elements of the old—the leaders of his own Christian Democratic Party; two or three Saragat Socialists, if they are willing to stay in the government and risk losing what popularity they still have; one or two Liberals, if they can reach an agreement on terms; and one Republican, supported by his four colleagues in the Chamber. But such a combination would be weak and unstable and could not possibly continue the unconditional pro-American foreign policy of the past.

THE CONSEQUENCES of the Italian elections extend far beyond the borders of Italy. The results are a heavy blow to the grand design of a Roman Catholic Europe that was already in the making. A year ago, this idea was personified by three powerful Catholic leaders: De Gasperi, Schuman, and Adenauer. American liberals and partisans of the world-government idea have greeted with enthusiasm the prospect of a united Europe, acclaiming the achievements of Strasbourg and the Schuman Plan as long steps in that direction. They apparently did not realize that the united Europe slowly taking shape was a Catholic Europe and that behind it was the Vatican. Pope Pius XII had subtly and discreetly won for his plan the backing of many non-Catholic anti-Communist European politicians as well as the key men in American diplomacy. He used his great powers of persuasion to convince them that the battle against Russia and communism could be won only under the leadership of the church. This was clearly stated in an editorial in the *Corriere della Sera* of June 11, commenting on the elections: "In a struggle that presents so many common characteristics with the wars of religion, the only symbol that can be opposed to the sickle and hammer is the Cross."

It looked as if the Papacy was triumphantly returning to the most glorious moments of its political past, when it led the fight against the revolutionary forces of the time. As I have noted before, the church had this time gone further than in previous elections to campaign openly for a Christian-bloc victory. As the head of an independent state, the Pope could not vote; but those who saw his sister, a person so very spiritual and frail, so very Pacellian, carried on a litter to the election booth, realized that the call to arms in the battle against the anti-Christ had sounded! As a Spaniard, I have had some experience of what the Catholic church is capable of on such occasions, but I have never seen it as aggressive in Spain as it has been in Italy these past weeks.

The dream of a Catholic Europe, aided and financed by a Protestant America, faded last week as the votes were counted. Faded but did not disappear. It will not be abandoned, though it may revive under changed auspices if the balance of government power shifts to the right. A profound fear is keeping the dream alive—the fear of the political awakening of the workers.

# Unesco's Travail

## McCarthyism in Paris . . . *by Alexander Werth*

*Paris*

HUMAN rights and the rights of international civil servants are in the center of the conflict that has now been raging for months between Unesco—and particularly its Staff Association—on the one hand, and the State Department, the F.B.I., and Congress on the other. One may think what one likes of Unesco: the British Government, for example, tends to consider it as a luxury from which the British taxpayer doesn't get full value (though in fact he spends on it only a penny per head per year).

However, attention in Paris and elsewhere is today centered on neither the achievements nor the alleged shortcomings of Unesco, but on the resistance that not only the Staff Association but, by and large, the organization itself is putting up against McCarthyite intimidation. The other day the head of the United States delegation to Unesco circulated to every American in the organization something called a "progress report," on the current loyalty investigations. The document contained the clear threat that if the "loyalty situation" at Unesco was not clarified, it was very likely that Congress would not vote the appropriation for it, amounting to one-third of its budget. The report stated inaccurately that of all the United Nations agencies, only Unesco still had a number of Americans on its payroll—three to be exact—who had not yet filled in the loyalty questionnaires based on the Truman order of last January. The fact is that some Americans in other U. N. agencies have also failed to fill in these questionnaires on the ground that Truman's order, largely founded on

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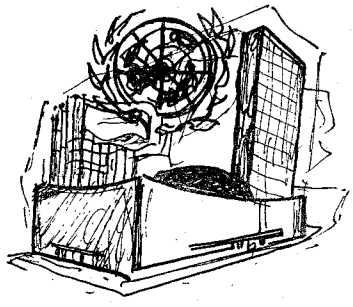
the doubtful rulings of Trygve Lie's three "famous" jurists, was not applicable to international civil servants. It is certainly significant that F. I. C. S. A.—the newly-organized Federation of International Civil Servants Associations at Geneva—should not have hesitated to engage the services of the eminent Belgian jurist, Senator Rolin, who has persistently challenged the legality of Lie's actions and the competence of his three jurists, not one of whom has ever had much to do with international law [see *The Nation,* March 7]. Once Rolin completes his report there will be fur flying, one may be sure.

The Executive Board of Unesco has been meeting in preparation for next month's general conference and has already reached three important decisions.



One is that Unesco is to join the International Labor Organization Administrative Tribunal. This means that any Unesco employee who has been dismissed, or who has any other complaint, can now appeal not only to the Appeals Board of Unesco, but also to a still higher authority. David Leff, an American who has been suspended with pay, apparently intends to appeal to the I. L. O. tribunal should he be dismissed.

Another decision taken by the Executive Board is to continue the present "interim arrangement" by which loyalty questionnaires are attached to Unesco application forms in the case of United States applicants for jobs. However, Unesco specifically disclaims responsibility for the questionnaires, which are considered to be entirely a matter between United States nationals and their government. The arrangement was designed to give Unesco time to get the opinion of member states on the desirability of altering its application form as urged by the United States, which wants one of a more "inquisitorial" nature. Almost without exception the opinions so far received from member states have been totally unfavorable to the American suggestions. India, Norway, Switzerland, and others have said they are perfectly satisfied with the present application form, New Zealand adding (not without a touch of irony):

> The New Zealand Government supports the decision that Unesco should not endorse any questionnaire which is not its own. Moreover, it would prefer that the Organization should not undertake the distribution of such questionnaires. . . . The correct procedure would be to remind applicants from the State concerned that certain purely national requirements have been established by their government and to advise them to apply for information to the nearest agency of that government.

In short, New Zealand took the position that Unesco should have nothing to do with loyalty questionnaires, and should not get its hands dirty with fingerprint ink.

This New Zealand statement, like the recent statement by Lester Pearson to the effect that the Canadian Government had had nothing to do with the selection or appointment of Canadians employed by the United Nations or its agencies, is another example of the resistance to McCarthyism which has been displayed even by Commonwealth conservatives (or near-conservatives).

Thirdly, the Executive Board confirmed the view expressed by John W. Taylor, the Acting Director-General, that under existing Staff Regulations he could not dismiss anybody for potential misbehavior as proposed by the State Department in a letter to him dated last February 20. This fantastic letter proposed:

> . . . that after the results of the investigative process are made available to him, the Director-General will not employ, or continue to employ, any United States citizens who are demonstrated to be *or are likely to be* engaged in subversive activities against the government of the United States [emphasis added].

Then there is the case of David Leff, an American citizen employed by Unesco here who was summoned to appear as a witness before a Federal Grand Jury in New York. But Leff had had his passport withdrawn (for no specified reason) two years ago. Uncertain of ever being able to get back to his job or to rejoin his family here, he refused to respond to the summons, asking that he be permitted to testify instead at the United States Embassy in the place of his employment, i.e., Paris. This was refused. Leff was then suspended by the Acting Director-General. The Staff Association, feeling that here was a particularly blatant case, protested unanimously against the suspension. No charge had, indeed, been brought against Leff; it looked to many as though the American authorities had adopted a new technique of "kidnapping" Unesco employees whom they couldn't get dismissed—get them to America, and so let their employment by Unesco lapse automatically through their inability to return. What makes the matter all the more serious is that the passport weapon is being more and more widely used against United States citizens considered potentially disloyal. The whole thing makes liberal Europeans squirm.

IT IS GOING to be a hard fight for Unesco, because Washington, as seen from here, is preparing to bring out against it all its biggest H-bombs. Cutting off the money is one. Another is the new McCarran bill already passed by the Senate which should stop all this liberal nonsense of not allowing people to be fired for being *likely* to do this or that. The bill provides that anybody who accepts a job in the United Nations or any of its agencies, or who continues to work there without having gone through a loyalty clearance, is liable to a $10,000 fine and or five years in jail. So if, fifteen years ago, you gave a dollar toward a Spanish Republican ambulance you may be "for it" . . . or if, like Leff, you worked for UNRRA in Yugoslavia just after the war.

News from Washington suggests to Paris observers that important people there have got their knife into Unesco and indeed into the United Nations. It is beginning to look from here as if the attack on Unesco might prove merely a minor prelude to a much bigger drive against the U. N. itself. In short, with McCarthyism performing at its worst inside an international show-window right in the middle of Paris, should one really be surprised at the "erosion" of Europe's solidarity with the United States which, according to the London *Sunday Times* correspondent in Washington, is making President Eisenhower feel like a distressed mother hen?



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# BOOKS

## Lessons of Asia

### A Review by Mark Gayn

*STILWELL'S MISSION TO CHINA.* By Charles F. Romanus and Riley Sunderland. Department of the Army, Government Printing Office. $5.

*THE RIVER AND THE GAUNTLET.* By S. L. A. Marshall. William Morrow and Company. $5.

*REPORT ON MAO'S CHINA.* By Frank Moraes. The Macmillan Company. $3.75.

*FIVE GENTLEMEN OF JAPAN.* By Frank Gibney. Farrar, Straus and Young. $4.

*TIBET AND THE TIBETANS.* By Tsung-lien Shen and Shen-chi Liu. Stanford University Press. $5.

HISTORY, it often seems, is made up of classical tragedies—of men doomed by circumstance, of great leaders insensitive to the fatal change of climate, of political movements crumbling apart. One is reminded of this on reading the latest instalment in the army's expanding and magnificent story of World War II. "Stilwell's Mission to China" is a Greek tragedy, in which a strong man battles elusive or unfaithful men and historic forces he cannot overcome. This human tragedy is superimposed on the far broader tragedy of Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang, fighting their traditional battles in their traditional ways, without awareness of the doom staring into the doorway. I do not know if the authors had read up on Euripides before taking up the study of the thousands of documents that have gone into this book. I do know that this thick report of a military mission, with its rich detail of campaigns fought or planned, soon takes the shape of a classical tragedy, through which the hero moves to his inevitable personal disaster.

Chosen to command the projected landing in North Africa, Stilwell was sent instead to China when another officer is thought to be reluctant to take up the assignment. His tasks are simple: "To increase the effectiveness of U. S. assistance to the Chinese Government for the prosecution of the war and to assist in improving the combat efficiency of the Chinese Army." This, in February, 1942, is the beginning of the tragedy. Soon Stilwell finds himself before obstacles of pride, ignorance, and tradition, "the whole tangled structure of Chinese politics, culture, and society." Chungking hesitates to move some troops; it denies lend-lease supplies to others; and at all times the Chinese troops are badly equipped, badly trained, undernourished, and ineptly led. Chiang does not wish to sacrifice his men in action; nor does he wish to do anything (Colonel Dorn reports to Washington) "but hoard the materiel in order to perpetuate [his regime] after the war." Stilwell's desperate efforts to train thirty divisions of Chiang's troops in India are short-circuited at every point because, Stilwell feels, Chiang does not wish the commander of this force to challenge his authority in the future. And, above all, the ruling group in Chungking—Chiang himself, General Ho Ying-chin, T. V. Soong, and the two clever sisters, Mme Chiang and Mme Kung—is won over by General Chennault's advocacy of an inexpensive air war. A brilliant air tactician, Chennault undertakes to bring Japan to its knees with little more than a force of 150 fighters and 76 bombers. Chennault joins the antagonists, and the historic conflict moves on to Washington. T. V. Soong enlists Harry Hopkins, and they are joined by Lauchlin Currie in a backstairs campaign to gain President Roosevelt's support.

As in all Greek tragedies, no one wins. Chennault gets the President's approval, but six months later he finds his battered air force being pushed out of its poorly defended air fields. Colonel Dorn records that "Soong expressed the opinion that the present regime would be out of a job six months after the war was over. He ought to know. . . ." Soong wins his battle with Stilwell, but he lives to see his own prophecy come true. And after the President repudiates Stilwell's insistence on a *quid pro quo* from Chiang Kai-shek, Stilwell prophetically forecasts his own departure. The book does not end with Stilwell's recall, but it does conclude on a note of imminent tragedy. (One can only speculate on whether Eisenhower would have become President had Stilwell been sent to North Africa, as planned.)

SEVEN YEARS pass, the scene shifts to Korea, and another masterly army historian, S. L. A. Marshall, records a related tragedy. This time it is the story of how the Chinese Communist forces defeated the United States Eighth Army on the Chongchon River. If the authors of "Stilwell's Mission" prefer to tell their tragedy in the muted tones of army reports, Mr. Marshall chooses to recount it in the terms of its impact on individual Americans. He omits the broader aspects of that November defeat. Yet, they cannot be wholly ignored. Thus, the author records that General Walker was not happy about the march on the Yalu ordered by General MacArthur in the fall of 1950, and that Chou En-lai's warning of China's intervention threw Walker's headquarters into "a dread apprehension." But even the warnings of Walker's Intelligence had to be worded carefully, for "the merest mention of Chinese intervention" sent the South Korean commanders into a panic. In fact, the Korean Defense Minister urged that the advance toward the Yalu be halted. If the Eighth Army Intelligence was aware of the danger, the Intelligence in Tokyo apparently was not. Two days before MacArthur flew off to Wake Island "to tell President Truman that Chinese intervention was not a plausible or potent threat in the war," the first Chinese prisoners had already been captured.

MacArthur's drive north was planned with disdain for the Chinese, and with that bold abandon which had won him so many battles. It had, in fact, become a race, and the South Korean troops were already on the Yalu when an American unit ran into a major ambush

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*MARK GAYN, foreign correspondent and author of "The Fight for the Pacific" and "Japan Diary," spent many years in the Far East.*



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far below the river. Somehow, somewhere the Chinese had crossed the Yalu undetected, and hid themselves until they were ready. When they did strike, the Eighth Army discovered it was faced not by three regiments (as the first Chinese prisoners testified), but by three full armies, backed by three more.

The stage set, Mr. Marshall proceeds to unfold the tragic story—the confusion and fear, the failure of some and the superb performance of others, the suffering and the heroism. In preparing this report, he must have spoken to thousands. He now tells their story, from the moment the Stonewall Company, 129 strong, walked into the developing battle and saw the next morning with only 34 men alive. The story shifts from company to company, and then to bigger formations; from soldiers to officers to generals, none of them yet able to grasp the magnitude of the Chinese attack. There are memorable flashes: the machine-gunner on a knoll suddenly seeing a Chinese regiment trotting down a dry river bed just a few yards away from him; the Koreans, deep in retreat, who had come through a supply dump, and looked like merchants going to a fair; the Chinese regiment in South Korean uniforms marching so nonchalantly while buzzed by suspicious United States aircraft that it was left alone, later to do great damage in the Eighth Army's rear; and the G. I. who fought a lone battle in the middle of enemy formations, and who, on emerging in the morning with his machine-gun and both his feet frozen, laughed and said, "I feel happy as hell."

Thus the story develops from the earliest skirmishes, to the Chinese breakthrough, and then to the nightmare of a roadblock in which the retiring Allied units were caught in enemy crossfire. It is a heroic and chilling story, beautifully told. It is also a story with a lesson for the West. The defeat came as much because of our faulty Intelligence as because we failed to understand what had happened in China between 1943 and 1950.

WHAT IT is that has transformed the sick and ill-trained Chinese soldier of Stilwell's day into the highly skilled fighter on the Chongchon is analyzed at length, and with considerable intelligence, in still another excellent book, Frank Moraes's "Report on Mao's China." Mr. Moraes is an Oxonian and editor of the influential *Times of India*. In the spring of 1952, he visited Red China for six weeks as a member of the official Indian cultural mission. Mr. Moraes is frankly repelled by what he found, though he maintains a judicious impartiality. "Mao's China" encompasses most of the facets of Chinese life, from "brain-washing" to education, land reform, and China's relations with Moscow. The people, he finds, have either embraced Maoism passionately, as a faith that was so notably lacking under Chiang, or accept it passively as the only way to survive. The combination of faith, political terror, and some real material achievements holds China together as nothing has held it before. And, as never before, an individual has been taught to take pride in the collective effort.

As an intellectual, Mr. Moraes is especially perturbed by what has happened to men of intellect. Thought, he finds, "is a government monopoly," schools have become vehicles for impressing Marxism on young minds, and the Chinese Communists are "well on the way to winning young China." But he also finds that the intellectuals have become "creatures of the State to whom their minds are mortgaged." Under the Kuomintang, the intellectuals backed the Communists as the lesser evil. "Now," he finds, "they seemed less certain. . . . Nothing burned itself so strongly in my mind as [their] mental furtiveness."

What makes this book particularly interesting is that Mr. Moraes views China through Indian eyes. For Nehru, he points out, Marxism is "an academic exercise." For Mao Tse-tung, it is "a practical panacea for many ills and a system adaptable to his country's needs." "When during the war Nehru said that black-marketeers should be hanged to the nearest lamp post he was using a figure of speech. When Mao says it he means it." With this comes a difference in dynamism. Mao regards China as the leader of Asia, and may yet launch a move for the economic "liberation" of Asia from the "tyranny of capitalism." Nehru also wishes to be rid of the last vestiges of European domination, but he sees in communism a great danger against which freedom is the best defense. "Force is certainly not the answer to Communism. In Asian thinking Communism can be overcome only by countering the conditions which create it." India and China thus supply the two main approaches to the problem. "If China proves that her system of government ensures economic security . . . without detracting from [the people's] sense of freedom, Asia will be lost to Communism. If India, on the other hand, demonstrates that democratic government can ensure not only economic security but individual liberty, then Asia will be won to democracy. What India and China are today in fact doing is wrestling for the political soul of Asia. That is why India's role in Asian affairs is crucial."

This is a thought-provoking book providing a look at China from a new angle —and without the simulated passion that one finds in so many more superficial volumes on the subject.

FRANK GIBNEY'S book is an attempt to retell the history of Japan in terms of its impact on five individuals, from the emperor to a peasant. Much of the material is familiar, but the story is skilfully told, and if one has the urge to learn something of Japan's history, the ways of her people, and the effects of the defeat, all in one easy sitting, he can do no better than turn to Mr. Gibney for help.

A word, finally, about a thoroughly fascinating volume on a little known Asian topic. "Tibet and the Tibetans" was written by a former Chinese Resident Commissioner in Lhasa and his secretary. Both show themselves to be not only astute observers of folkways, but also possessors of a subtle sense of humor. The book devotes only five pages to the post-war political developments, but it is fortunately long on the subjects that seem closer to the authors—such subjects as Lamaism, polyandry, picnics *à la* Lhasa, the hunt for a new Dalai Lama, and the complexities of government for, and by, a living god.

Together, the five books would make any publishing season a happy one. But the first three of them also bear important lessons, for unless we can learn by our errors of the past decade, and adjust our policies and attitudes to the flow of history, we may find our future strewn with tragedies. Mr. Marshall's magnificent book is a reminder of how costly such tragedies and errors can be.



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# New Books in Brief

## More on the Brontës

*THE BRONTE STORY.* By Margaret Lane. Duell, Sloan & Pearce–Little, Brown. $5.

This popular biography of the Brontë family, by the English author, Margaret Lane, the Countess of Huntingdon, leans rather heavily on Mrs. Gaskell's "Life of Charlotte Brontë." But it does include valuable material either unknown to or suppressed by Mrs. Lane's eminent predecessor, and the later contributions of Brontë scholars to a family legend which was completely Victorian and hardly less stark than the House of Atreus. There are interesting sections here on the secret history of the Brontë dream-kingdoms of Angria and Gondal, begun in childhood and continued, with a fantastic prolificness, well into maturity. Previously deleted passages in Charlotte's letters to her Brussels teacher, M. Heger, also suggest that her feelings were not merely platonic; and there is the detailed story of Mr. Nicholls's courtship against the violent opposition of her father. Other missing elements of the legend, conveniently summarized, with a certain modesty and competence of tone, are useful to anyone interested in the Brontës. But if no post-Gaskellian biography can be more than "a footnote . . . to her incomparable text," the reader would do well to know the original biography first, which still remains a work of art in its own right.

## Dutiful Passions

*CECILE.* By Benjamin Constant. Edited and Annotated by Alfred Roulin. Translated by Norman Cameron. New Directions. $2.50.

Benjamin Constant flourished—if the word can be applied to the life of a man who lived in perpetual indecision—in one of the great heydays of gallantry; namely that period when the eighteenth century was turning into the nineteenth and the rise of sensibility had made the grand—if frequently brief—passion at least as much a duty as it was a pleasure. Since for once convention favored rather than frowned upon the liaison, the turnover was rapid and ladies who did not want to be left out of the game were often troublesomely willing. Perhaps that fact had more to do than is usually admitted with the perplexities of a writer whose he-would-and-he-wouldn't relations with various women dragged on for years and whose "Adolphe" is generally considered a masterpiece of emotional self-analysis.

The present book is the first English translation of a long-lost but recently recovered autobiographical fragment which describes under the thin disguise of fictitious names Constant's thirteen-years' hesitation between that domineering maneater Madame de Staël and the twice married but gentle and submissive Charlotta von Hardenberg with whom he later contracted what appears to have been a happy marriage. Less harsh than Stendhal and more straightforward than Proust, Constant has something in common with both; particularly the fact that one half of him can stand aside while the other half is deeply involved. One is always having to deal with what he is trying to feel, with what he thinks he is feeling, and with what he actually does feel. Often if not quite always he himself knows which is which. "Cecile" is a significant addition to his canon.

## A Frenchman's View

*THE GREAT AMERICAN PARADE.* By H.-J. Duteil. Translated by Fletcher Pratt. Twayne Publishers. $3.75.

This book, according to its publishers, presents "the strange portrait of America that Europe accepts." That is surely an exaggeration even if it has been a best-seller in France, Belgium, Italy, and other countries. No doubt many if not most Europeans accept the author's standardized strictures on Hollywood. On the other hand, his views of the Negro question are those of Paris, Texas, rather than Paris, France. In short, this is an idiosyncratic rather than a representative European account of America, the work of a Frenchman who from internal evidence appears to be a conservative, a snob, and, although he would vehemently deny it, a kind of philistine. American readers are likely to be more amused than resentful of his *obiter dicta.* They will observe that his research into American history has been sketchy and that he has a tendency to indulge in the most sweeping generalizations—for instance, in his section on racial origins, which shows strong anti-Irish and anti-Italian prejudices. But they will also note with shame Mr. Duteil's account of his detention on Ellis Island, where he was subjected to outrageous bullying until he produced proof that he had "some very rich friends in the United States."


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## All About Women

*WOMEN TODAY.* Edited by Elizabeth Bragdon. Bobbs-Merrill. $4.

A collection of excerpts and articles, previously published elsewhere, dealing with modern women, "their conflicts, their frustrations, and their fulfilments." The editor is to be congratulated on having gathered together so many interesting and representative pieces. In the final phase of our progress toward the full emancipation of woman books such as this can help to clarify the issues.

## Southern Apologist

*WHERE MAIN STREET MEETS THE RIVER.* By Hodding Carter. Rinehart. $4.

This is, generally speaking, an easy-to-read success story of a man whose talents and efforts were recognized by the right people at the right time. It is written in a cheerful manner that makes one glad such happiness is still attainable, especially in a field so notoriously neurotic as journalism. Unfortunately, the dust jacket proclaims the book to be "the personal testament of a man who has become the spokesman for the new South." And when Carter indulges in regionalistic polemics, one's hackles rise.

On the problems of the South he adopts the conventional "and you're another" attitude toward "professional South-baiters." At one point, with apparent seriousness, he equates the "mistreatment" of the Penobscot Indians in Maine with the lot of the Southern Negro. He attacks at great length the Tuskegee lynching reports, citing crimes in the North that he says could just as well have been included. And he joins the "Southern constitutionalists" in their opposition to civil-rights legislation. He presents each social and economic gain in the South as if it were a miracle in bootstrap lifting and gloats over those Northern industries which have decamped to Dixie to take advantage of the "willing labor."

Ironically, Carter's compendium of racial and religious inequities in the nation at large serves to buttress the case for federal legislation protecting minorities and makes all the more untenable the position of those who block enactment in the name of "Thomas Jefferson's illimitable freedoms." If all white Southerners of good-will enjoyed Carter's influential status, perhaps the region could right itself without any legislative or judicial coercion. But too many are just plain citizens. They might fight Jim Crow through their labor unions, their church groups, or in *ad hoc* committees, but they are harassed and thwarted by state and local segregation statutes. Nor does Hodding Carter speak for them.

# Theater

## Harold Clurman

*Tel-Aviv*

IN 1949—the occasion of my last visit to Israel—the population was seven hundred thousand. Today it is a million and a half. Tel-Aviv, the country's largest city, now has a population of four hundred thousand. There are three permanent dramatic companies here.

The Israeli theatrical enterprises occupy permanent quarters, presenting a varied program of plays forty-eight weeks a year on the repertory basis of alternating performances. The Habimah company's current success is Maxwell Anderson and Kurt Weill's "Lost in the Stars," renamed "Cry, the Beloved Country," the title of Alan Paton's novel of which it is a dramatization. Molnar's "Liliom" was also being done when I arrived but it was not a success.

While the latest productions are shown six nights a week in Tel-Aviv, part of the Habimah company presents some of the less recent productions in Jerusalem, Haifa, and in the smaller cities, as well as in the cooperative settlements. These productions include Maeterlinck's "Blue Bird," Ibsen's "Peer Gynt," and a contemporary Israeli play called "I Am the Ship's Captain.'

One of the most fascinating aspects of the Israeli theater to me is the intensity and diversity of its activity. The Caesar of my production of Shaw's "Caesar and Cleopatra" plays the title role in "Peer Gynt" and is the director of Ibsen's "John Gabriel Borkman," in which he also acted this season, as well as the director of a new production of Jules Romain's "Knock" which he did at another theater. While I am rehearsing "Caesar and Cleopatra," Joseph Bulov in an adjoining hall is working on Mary Chase's "Mrs. McThing," while in still another room a new Israeli play is being directed by an actor who also appears in "Peer Gynt" and is the Appolodorus of our Shaw production.

There is extraordinary interest here in the theater—and sharp rivalry among the different organizations and their various champions. In many quarters, it is fashionable to speak of the Habimah as old hat (due to its Muscovite origin in 1919 with the famous production of "The Dybbuk") but it is my belief that this opinion is itself old hat. The Habimah is as representative and as "modern" as any of Israeli theaters. Among certain people the favored company is that of the Chamber Theater, most of whose actors are in their early thirties. Their great success now playing is Shaw's "St. Joan."

The Israeli theater makes something of a fetish of novelty and experimentation. (If this is a fault, it is a fault we may well envy.) Most Israeli productions suffer from that unevenness of style which frequently accompanies the efforts of those who strive to be original and "new." (A naturalistic box-set here is more unusual than a markedly stylized set is in New York.) The effect of this straining for novelty is that the productions nearly always have a lively look even when they are artistically unintegrated or amateurish. What saves many of these productions is an occasionally sound concept on the part of the director—frequently foreign—but more often a remarkable acting performance.

The Chamber Theater's "St. Joan" is easily superior to the Theater Guild's uninspired revival two seasons ago. With far less money than the Guild spent on its visually shoddy show, the Chamber Theater production, though essentially conventional in design, has a certain spaciousness and freedom. Its main asset, however, is a young actress—Orna Porat—whose Joan is the most ringingly



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sincere, spiritually radiant, humanly touching of all the Joans I have seen (Sybil Thorndike, Katharine Cornell, Uta Hagen). Porat, who was born in Germany, is half-Jewish and has just recently learned Hebrew and become a citizen of the country. I note this fact only because it is symbolic of the cultural phenomenon that the Israeli theater represents.

"Lost in the Stars" is done in an ingenious, not altogether satisfactory, but thoroughly economical setting—fashioned by Joseph Carl, a talented Austro-English designer—a setting which looks like some of those done in Berlin and Moscow in the twenties but which serves the practical purposes of the present piece very well. But again the highlight of the production is the grandiose simplicity, the deeply moving feeling which Aaron Meskin brings to the central role. As "Lost in the Stars" is a musical play, Meskin, who has long been the outstanding dramatic actor of the Israeli stage, is obliged to sing a considerable portion of his part. What is remarkable about his performance in this respect is that because his singing is that of an *actor,* it is more effective in the circumstance than trained vocalization might be.

An energetic, wide-ranging professionalism—together with ardent ambition—is characteristic of all the better actors in Israel. Shimon Finkel's Peer Gynt is arresting by the amplitude of its attack, its incessant vigor, and its fidelity to the intention of the Swedish director who staged and designed the production. I saw it under unfavorable technical auspices at a performance in an ill-equipped house in Jerusalem, and cannot speak knowledgeably of all aspects of the production, but it nevertheless made me realize for the first time how profound and imaginative a play "Peer Gynt" can be when sympathetically produced in an unfettered theater.

Israelis complain that they have not produced a native drama worth mentioning. In fact, they complain about everything in their theater. It becomes a visitor's duty, therefore, to point out to them that these complaints are themselves a sign of their country's youthful ferment, and that, putting aside all social and material considerations, Israel has good reason to be proud of its theatrical accomplishments. Perhaps when Israel is more developed it will learn to make an artistic virtue of its primitive crudeness. Suffice it for us to say at present that compared to the least of the Israeli actors and directors, the entire profession in America is unemployed.


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# Music

## B. H. Haggin

"CON AMORE," the new Lew Christensen piece presented by the New York City Ballet, begins pleasantly and amusingly; but apparently it is easier to begin something than to continue it and bring it to a conclusion in a clear line of development, as Christensen did so brilliantly in "Filling Station," and as he doesn't do in "Con Amore." Heading the cast were Sally Bailey and Nancy Johnson of Mr. Christensen's San Francisco Ballet Company, which first produced the piece last March; and Miss Bailey's dancing in the opening scene was very lovely. And Jacques d'Amboise had another opportunity to display his dazzling spins and leaps.

Most of Jerome Robbins's "Fanfare" represents nothing beyond a professional resourcefulness in filling the stage with movement; but in this setting of Britten's "The Young Person's Guide to the Orchestra" Robbins contrives three episodes of brilliant comedy for the bassoons, the trombones and tuba, and the percussion. These are the only ones that show a relation to the characters of the instruments and the music: another not very funny bit of comedy for the double bass has no relation to what Britten has written for the instrument.

"The Filly," Todd Bolender's ballet about horses, didn't come off.

CONCERNING HIS orchestral arrangement of Beethoven's Piano Sonata Opus 106 ("Hammerklavier") Weingartner wrote: "On making a close examination of Beethoven's style of writing and construction in this sonata, it becomes more and more difficult to believe that an orchestral conception should not have been present in his mind." But listening to the transcribed first movement I find it impossible to hear anything but writing for the piano that is less effective in orchestral translation. And its effect is lessened further by the devitalizing performance by Kurt Graunke with the Bavarian Symphony (Urania).

Of the Musorgsky pieces played well by Susskind with the Philharmonia Orchestra (MGM)—the excerpts from "Khovantchina" and "The Fair at Sorochinsk," "A Night on Bald Mountain," a Scherzo (1858), an Intermezzo Symphonique (1867), and the Turkish March "The Capture of Kars"—every one except the Intermezzo Symphonique is described as edited by Rimsky-Korsakov or Liadov; and however engaging some of them are, one isn't hearing what Musorgsky wrote. The Intermezzo is a fine piece; and if it really is unedited it provides additional evidence that what Musorgsky completed needed no editing by anyone else.

Tchaikovsky's seldom-heard Piano Concerto No. 2, even with its dull mo-



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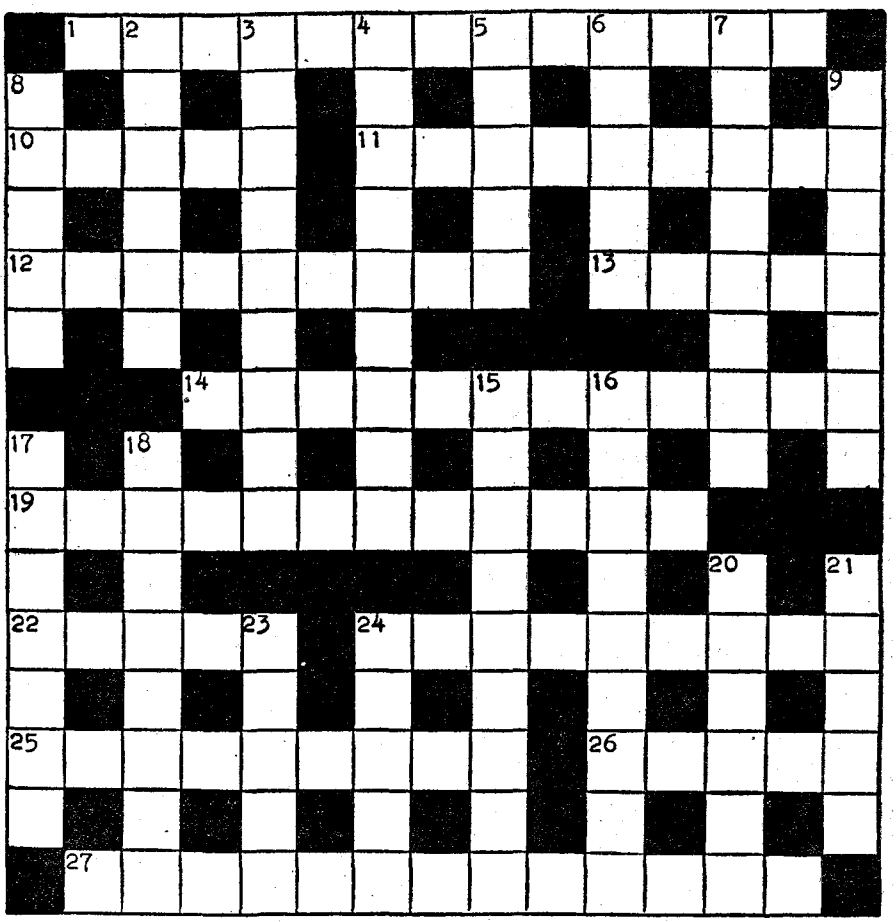
# Crossword Puzzle No. 521

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



## ACROSS

1 What Singer's troupe should have followed without much resistance? (5, 8)
10 Knight without a lot of armor. (5)
11 See 26 across.
12 Settlers, not necessarily from Panama. (9)
13 These days are fast with some people. (5)
14 Sometimes applied to what might be evil nonsense, but it's fine and clear, on the ball! (4, 8)
19 and 8 down. Old timer? (12, 5)
22 This composer is in understandable hardships. (5)
24 Gone without in France—but they kept the Nazis busy! (9)
25 Walking like Chaplin? (9)
26 and 11 across. Seems as though they ought to raise wheat! (5, 9)
27 Complain, by the way, with a retinue. (8, 5)

## DOWN

2 Deal in what grasping people often seize. (6)
3 Noted mineral extracted from water. (9)
4 Another old timer? Watch the hours flow by. (9)
5 Winds and rocks. (5)
6 Proclamation. (5)
7 Bon mot re that of which Nanki-Poo was once second. (8)
8 See 19 across.
9 One of those laid low at Bannockburn? (7)
15 Came into this in the ride. (9)
16 Short and stubby, and a big bore! (9)
17 Women seem to, compared with men. (7)
18 Sort of rock about the passageway, with the entrance into it operatic. (8)
20 Sandwiches now are recognized as this. (6)
21 Employing this gun is bad! (5)
23 With a copperhead, it should go at least partly underground. (5)
24 Not genocide, but the finish of some races! (5)

**SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 520**

ACROSS:—1 RESTRICTED; 6 WILD; 10 INSIDER; 11 ASUNDER; 12 FAIRWAYS; 13 CATCH; 15 LINKS; 17 IN BAD ODOR; 19 COMPOUNDS; 21 STATE; 23 JOUST; 24 HIERARCH; 27 CAISSON; 28 ITEMIZE; 29 STEM; 30 HALF GAINER.

DOWN:—1 and 4 REINCARNATION; 2 SUSTAIN; 3 RIDER; 7 INDITED; 8 DARK HORSES; 9 SUICIDES; 14 BLACKJACKS; 16 SCOTTISH; 18 BAS-RELIEF; 20 and 5 down MAURICE EVANS; 22 AUCTION; 24 HENNA; 25 ARENA; 26. PEER.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York.



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ments, is a better work than the popular No. 1. I can imagine musically more imposing piano-playing than Margot Pinter's in the performance with the Radio Berlin Symphony under Rother (Urania).

Strauss's "Aus Italien," the first of his tone poems (it preceeded "Macbeth," which preceded "Don Juan"), is luxuriant, diffuse, and not interesting. It is played well by the Berlin Radio Symphony under Rother (Urania).

Other things to skip: Prokofiev's Symphony No. 7, played by Ormandy with the Philadelphia Orchestra (Columbia). Schönberg's "A Survivor from Warsaw" and "Kol Nidre," played by Swarowsky with the Vienna Symphony and Hans Jaray, narrator; and his Second Chamber Symphony, played by Häfner with the same orchestra (Columbia). William Schuman's Symphony for Strings, played by Steinberg with the Pittsburgh Symphony (Capitol).

Aksel Schiotz's voice lacks its former fluidity and is a little monotonous in color in performances of Beethoven's "An die ferne Geliebte" with Horszowski, and Bach's Cantata No. 189 "Meine Seele rühmt und preist" with Wummer (flute), Tabuteau (oboe), Alexander Schneider (violin), Tortelier (cello), and Veyron-Lacroix (harpsichord), recorded at the 1951 Perpignan Festival (Columbia).

Hardly a day in recent months without its press release from Remington about the earth-shaking events to follow from its engagement of Laszlo Halasz as director. And now at last a record produced by Mr. Halasz—the first of a series called Recital and Encores, of which the earth-shaking feature is merely the new title for the old and objectionable jumbling together of every kind of piece including encore pieces. In this case it is songs by Purcell, Schubert, Brahms, Wolfe, Duparc, Fauré, and Massenet, with John Jacob Niles's arrangements of some gambling songs as the encores. I don't care for the Brahms, the French songs, and the encores; but all are sung superbly by Mack Harrell. To appreciate how well he sings Wolf's "Abschied," among others, you would have to have the words; and Mr. Halasz's earth-shaking innovations don't include supplying the needed texts of the songs rather than the useless information about them.


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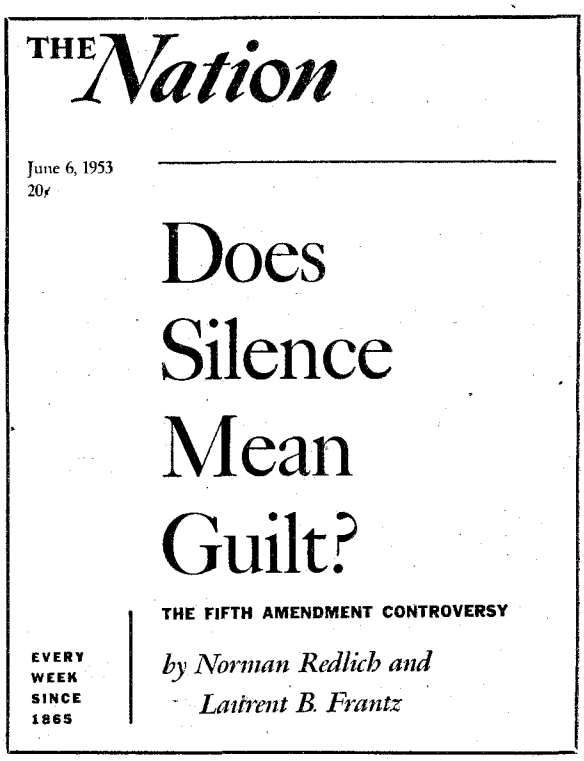


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